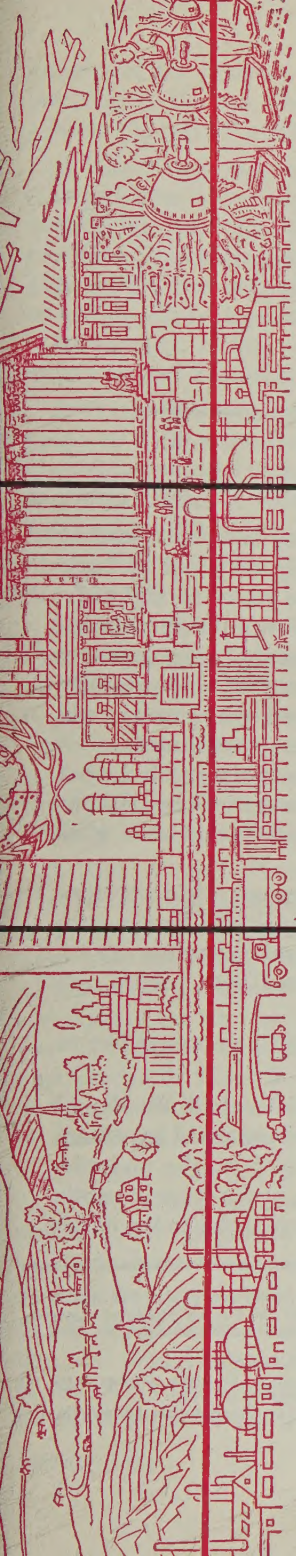

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January 1958

SOCIAL PROGRESS

THE WELFARE of the NATIONS

—Ethical Approaches to Foreign Aid

From This Vantage Point

FOREIGN AID will have hard going in the next session of Congress. Our lawmakers will be strongly disposed to back every realistic program designed to accelerate scientific and technological advance, especially in fields related to military requirements. Sputniks I and II dramatize a national need of great urgency.

At the same time, the laudable desire to economize, so powerfully expressed in the 1957 session of Congress, will continue to be a large factor in shaping and sizing Government expenditures.

Inevitably such programs as foreign economic aid and technical assistance will be caught in the squeeze. Pressure will be brought to effect drastic cutbacks in foreign aid expenditures and to tie what is left directly and entirely to security needs.

The position of the churches is that in the present world situation programs of international economic assistance should be strengthened rather than reduced and weakened. These programs are essential to the creation of conditions of peace "with justice and freedom."

In introducing this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, we would like to make several preliminary points.

1. International economic aid is not a new idea at all. We should note that the Western nations for a number of centuries have been on the receiving end of massive economic aid from the underdeveloped areas. The wealth of Asia and Africa, in the form of exotic products and essential raw materials, was a large factor in the devel-

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opment of the Western nations. Now it is our turn to assist new nations reaching for the sun. The goal then was economic domination and gain; the goal now is mutual welfare and security.

2. The newer nations of Asia and Africa (600 million people have emerged from colonialism in the last ten years or so) cannot achieve industrial and economic strength on their own without requiring impossible sacrifices from their people—impossible, that is, if they are to remain free. This means that without economic aid from the outside, many of these countries will be tempted to abandon the democratic system, or to distort it irreparably, in favor of a system in which the necessary sacrifices for industrial and economic growth can be enforced.

3. In the first session of the 85th Congress (1957), the Administration proposed a Development Loan Fund to aid underdeveloped countries. The plan was supported with *authorized* appropriations of $500 million in 1958 and $625 million in 1959. The amount actually appropriated, however, was $300 million for 1958. The Administration also sought $151.9 million for technical co-operation in 1958, although only $125 million was appropriated by Congress.

4. Presbyterian U.S.A. General Assembly deliverances of several recent years strongly encourage (*a*) the continuance and reasonable expansion of foreign economic aid and technical assistance (both in direct government-to-government programs and through the United Nations), (*b*) projecting foreign aid as a long-term program (five, ten, or twenty years) rather than on the present uneasy and very inefficient basis of year-to-year appropriations, and (*c*) the separation of foreign economic aid from the program of military assistance, both in budget and in administration.

5. The United Nations Expanded Technical Assistance Program (UNETAP) will have the support in 1958 of at least 84 governments. Pledges from countries other than the United States are expected to reach $16.5 million, with the U.S. contribution limited to $15.5 million, or 45 per cent of the whole. Congress has directed that U.S. participation be reduced to one third of the total by 1960. The volume of work has grown from $19 million in 1954 to the present level of more than $30 million. The U.S.S.R. contribution is about $1 million a year (since 1952). About 100 countries and territories are receiving help which is provided, we should keep in mind, on something like a matching basis.

6. A new factor in the picture is the U. S. proposal to increase UNETAP to a $100 million plan, with about $50 million being used for surveys and studies to lay the groundwork for large-scale economic development. A Preparatory Committee has been set up by the UN to study the proposal and to make recommendations for its implementation in 1959.

7. UN assistance programs such as those of the World Health Organization and the Children's Fund are unique in that direct service to persons in need is always combined with the training of local personnel. Projects are set up under local (government) sponsorship with UN participation. The

UN contribution is likely to be large during the initial stage, but is reduced at an agreed rate so that in a very few years (3, 5, 7) the local agency takes over completely.

8. Voluntary programs of material aid and technical sharing are important factors in foreign economic development. Church World Service, for example, provided 99 million pounds of supplies worth more than $14 million in 1956. Presbyterian U.S.A. overseas programs include many projects that are of the character of technical assistance. Various foundations, universities, business organizations, labor groups are engaged in one form or another of foreign aid. A feature of the voluntary programs which in some cases is a decided advantage is that they are able to minister directly to people in need. Economic assistance programs in which our country engages are generally of the government-to-government sort and have to do with such things as factories, heavy machinery, transportation, dams, harbors, roads, urban renewal, research.

9. The National Council of Churches has issued a number of fine statements on foreign economic policy in the light of Christian responsibility. The latest of these was an 800-word resolution approved by the NCC's Division of Christian Life and Work at the recent triennial meetings in St. Louis.

10. The churches are not at all reluctant to affirm their support of international assistance at the time and place of decision-making. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, in behalf of the National Council of Churches of which he was then president, testified before the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate last April. His statement (see pages 16-20) was a powerful exposition of the ethical basis of our concern for foreign aid. The Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. had an able spokesman before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives when Dr. James Robinson testified last May.

11. Foreign economic policy really has two aspects—aid and trade. The freeing and stimulation of international trade are ultimately the more important side of economic development. In the present discussion, however, we are concentrating on the issue of foreign aid because of its present large importance in relation to freedom and security among the nations.

12. Finally, we like the idea of using Christian laymen as voluntary short-term technical counselors, under church auspices, in the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We dare to believe that many lay members of our churches are ready to spend one or two years overseas as a matter of Christian stewardship. A man who knows animal husbandry, for example, could be very useful in a new farm development in the middle East or in India. The day may come when many persons in our churches will, as a matter of course, plan their lives so as to include a "tour of duty" overseas in unique Christian service.

The SEA Staff

COMMON CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY

Excerpts from the second report of the Working Committee on Church and Society of the World Council of Churches, exploring in detail the issues involved in "The Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change" in Asia, Africa, and Latin America

IMPACT OF THE WEST AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

THREE concerns are reflected here: the need for a correct understanding of the historical involvement of the West in the factors producing rapid social change in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and of the responsibilities that flow from it; the need for identification of the nature and urgency of the tasks in economic and social development which call for international co-operation and assistance; and the need for a clearer grasp of the responsibilities of the churches in East and West in relation to these tasks.

Modern Nationalism and International Co-operation

Modern nationalism, with its emphasis on the nation-state, stems in large part from the development of European political thought and action since the eighteenth century. It is a relatively recent phenomenon in Asia and Africa, and has grown through the transfer of Western concepts, the impress of Western administration, and also as a reaction to Western dominance and exploitation. The demand for self-determination in nonself-governing territories, the rapid proliferation of new states, and the urge for national autonomy in the economic and social spheres, reflect a major dynamic of our times.

Over against all this stands the fact of the growing interdependence of peoples in regard to economic life and security. Many of the older as well as newer states no longer have in themselves viable economies or military security. The hope for prosperity and security rests in the building of larger communities transcending, though not obliterating, national lines. The expectation of many of the countries critically involved in rapid social change that a solution to their problems can be found along strictly national lines goes contrary to the facts and trends of contemporary international life.

This contradiction between na-

tional demands and expectations and the hard facts of interdependence poses genuine problems for international co-operation and assistance. It is futile to say to those denied self-government or independence, or those who have recently attained autonomy, that nationalism is "out of date." Only a free nation can sacrifice or delegate part of its sovereignty to a larger community. Planning for economic and social development in the present ferment must be primarily national in character. On the other hand, international assistance, to be responsible, must weigh such plans against the criteria of effectiveness and the realities of interdependence. Obviously, both national plans and international assistance need to be worked out in mutual consultation, the procedures for which need to be determined.

What tasks does this problem present to the churches and Christian citizens? What can Christians in the West do to help eliminate elements of paternalism in assistance programs, and to foster a more genuine understanding of, and respect for, local needs and claims? What does this mean for Christians going into overseas service? What can Christians in countries of rapid social change do to help bring recognition of the necessary limits of nationalism, and the needs and claims of larger communities?

Racial and Ethnic Tensions

Racial and ethnic tensions in countries undergoing rapid social change, while often having indigenous roots, have undoubtedly been accentuated by Western policies and practices at home and abroad. Artificial boundaries have brought ethnic groups into conflict. Policies of "divide and rule" have played upon racial and religious differences. Discrimination and segregation have brought about bitter resentments. In some countries the settling of foreign and nonindigenous ethnic groups has produced special strains.

The dangers involved in racial and ethnic tensions do not mean that such differences, even tensions, are necessarily evil. The homogeneous nation-state has its liabilities as well as assets. The multi-national or multi-racial society has creative possibilities as a testing ground of co-operation and community. The need is to build, as Christians are doing in some countries, a common loyalty and ethos as a foundation for justice, tolerance, and co-operation.

While Christians all over the world have a common concern for study and action in relation to this problem, few generalized answers seem relevant here because situations vary so widely. In each specific situation where racial or ethnic tensions threaten to produce, or actually do provoke, conflict, Christians need to examine their own practices and witness in the light of the teaching of the gospel regarding human personality and of the needs for a co-operative society.

What, then, is the responsibility of Christians toward racial and ethnic tensions in their own country, taking also into account the effect on Christian witness in other countries? What is the spiritual and moral responsibility of Christians of one country with reference to racial and ethnic discriminations in another from the standpoint of Christian soli-

darity throughout the world? What are Western countries doing about the immigration of ethnic and racial groups into their lands? What is the Christian's responsibility at this point?

Social Disorganization and Religious Resurgence

An important consequence of the impact of the West on Asia, Africa, and Latin America has been the breakdown of ancient cultural and social patterns and controls. Some of these were static and enfeebled, unable to cope with social change, while some which had a social relevance disintegrated under the impact of Western patterns. Neither the old values nor those of the West have been able to fill the vacuum left by the breakdown of the ancient patterns. However, in some cases these have been unduly hardened, especially in the great migration process induced by the impact of the West during recent centuries.

Perhaps the main claimant for dominance in this situation of flux is a vigorous nationalism, too new to have deep roots and too unstable and exclusive to provide adequate social cohesion. Associated with the growth of nationalism has been the resurgence of older religions, in some cases stimulated and exploited for political and cultural purposes, but in others constituting a genuine revival of an interrupted faith and ethos. Whether such revivals can actually cope with the severe challenges of rapidly changing social situations is a moot question. But Christians need to study such religious resurgence seriously and critically, and help in finding ways of meeting the desperate cultural and religious needs to which such revivals are an attempted response. It is at this point that the study of rapid social change needs to follow carefully the study of a Christian approach to the non-Christian religions.

Population and Family Planning

The rapid increase of population, despite wide variations as between regions, is a world-wide phenomenon. Various factors, such as improvements in agriculture and industrialization, play a part, but a major factor is undoubtedly the development of modern medicine which has brought about dramatic reductions in death rates in recent decades. It is this factor which is producing drastic economic and social consequences in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for improvements in public health stand in the forefront of Western impact on these societies. Many of the lands of rapid social change confront the prospect of a doubling of their population in a generation.

This revolution in their demographic situation places quickly mounting strains upon inadequate or inadequately developed means of subsistence. Improvements in health can also mean a release of new man power for the development of resources. But where societies are densely populated to begin with, a vigorous, balanced, and effective development becomes a life-and-death matter. Only a wise and courageous combination of agricultural and industrial development, of education and voluntary family planning, offers any hope of restoring a tolerable balance between population and means of subsistence. Also, the needs of

densely populated countries, such as India, Indonesia, and Egypt, for international assistance carry great urgency, since unlike many of the less densely populated countries, time for a successful solution is rapidly running out.

More serious ecumenical study of the problem of population, and the related question of family planning or birth control, is needed. What needs to be said from a Christian perspective about the importance of the quality of family life? What is the meaning of responsible citizenship in regard to family planning? What needs to be said about the importance of welfare schemes as an alternative to the traditional methods of old-age security provided by large families?

International Trade and Stabilization of Prices

One of the major economic impacts of the West on the continents under study has been the introduction of a money economy and development of international trade. Through the plantation system and mining schemes, certain agricultural and mineral products of importance for Western and world markets were given priority of consideration, without any adequate regard for the general economic needs of the producers. Thus many of the economically underdeveloped countries have become financially dependent upon one or two, or at most a few, raw materials subject to wide fluctuations and even manipulations in regard to prices.

It is, of course, true that most of these countries must find in the sale of raw materials a major means for securing capital for modernizing their economy. But the slender and inadequate basis of their international trade, complicated by erratic fluctuations in world prices for raw materials, is a grave obstacle to development. While the technical aspects of corrective measures, as international price agreements on basic primary commodities, long-term sales contracts, or local marketing boards, lie outside the field of this study, their need for them unquestionably requires attention.

International Investment and Assistance

Raw materials from the economically less developed countries have aided, and continue to aid, the more industrialized countries in their own economic development. What assistance is going in the reverse direction is quite inadequate. Investment is largely concentrated in the production of raw materials needed by industrialized economies. Year by year, the gap in production and in standards of living is increasing instead of narrowing.

The economically less developed countries confront not only the difficulties of extracting capital from populations on the margin of subsistence, but also the handicaps of competing with highly industrialized countries in the world market. It is clear that, if the process of economic development is not to have tragic results, substantial assistance, both technical and financial, must be forthcoming from the West. During the past decade, a good beginning has been made in regard to technical assistance through multilateral and

(*Continued on page 21*)

ETHICAL PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC AID AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE

ROBERT S. BILHEIMER, Associate General Secretary, World Council of Churches. Condensed from one of the Project Papers on "The Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change"

THE terms "economic aid" and "technical assistance" are used here to denote the general work of development, through international assistance, in underdeveloped countries. They are two aspects of a single effort. The provision of capital funds or machinery which is usually meant by "economic aid," and the supplying of expert technicians which is normally meant by "technical assistance," tend in any case to be programs that merge into one another. The two terms are used for the total effort however it may be organized, whether by bilateral or multilateral governmental agreements or by private agencies or by combinations of both.

The purpose of this essay is not to evaluate economic aid and technical assistance, but to inquire as to what moral, human, social, cultural—what ethical—problems are encountered by this effort as it has now had some years of experience and promises to continue into the future. The most far-reaching and intractable problems which the various programs of foreign assistance face do not lie in the technical but rather in the moral and ethical realms. Some of these fundamental human problems are at least partially soluble by certain administrative measures, but others, if not insoluble, are of exceedingly deep and long-range proportions and do not give promise of yielding to administrative solutions. These problems, like so many of the profound issues of life, are not solved so much as they are worked through as time goes on.

Consciousness of the ethical problems involved in foreign assistance will show certain limits within which the work is to proceed and will shed light upon some of the methods to be undertaken in order to make the total work more beneficial and lasting. The main point of this essay is not to be exhaustive in its analysis, but to illustrate the fact that technical assistance inevitably involves deep ethical and spiritual problems and to encourage further study and analysis.

Are technical assistance and economic aid new and do they contain ethical problems that have not been involved in the centuries-old process of social and economic intercourse between nations? In one sense, of course, this is

not a new area of international activity. The introduction, from one country to another, of new methods of economic development and capital investment under governmental initiative and private enterprise have all been a part of the international scene for a long time.

On the other hand, the motives and the organization and the tempo of the present programs make them new and distinctive. The work now being done by governments, both receiving governments and giving governments and the foundations, has as its stated and constant objective the development of the country, the increase of its productive capacity, and its general welfare. It is an international effort which is consciously planned and voluntarily entered into on both sides. It is comprehensive in its scope, ranging from programs of maternity care to giant hydroelectric projects. It is moving with all the speed that human energy can muster, usually on a stated and controlled time scheme. These factors make it distinctive.

The ethical problems encountered by the total program may have some kinship, indeed may in some ways be the same problems as those involved in earlier enterprises of economic and technical interchange, but the ethical problems of the present program are cast in a new light and in many ways are found in different forms.

I. IMPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AMONG LARGE BLOCS OF PEOPLE

The problem of the motive of the giving country and of the receiving country is of first importance. There is a widespread popular tendency to suspect the motives of the giving countries. Of the major giving countries, the United States comes in for the heaviest share of this suspicion. Even the United Nations is not free of it, because of the influence of the United States in the United Nations. People feel that there must be strings of a political and military nature attached to the gifts and the loans and the services of the experts.

Whether these feelings are justified or not, they constitute a psychological factor in the mind of the public which is of very real influence. If a country, for instance, with a comparatively weak government is under domestic pressure to follow a neutralist international policy, popular suspicion about the strings attached to international aid will tend to prevent the government from accepting too much, even though the pressure for development within the country is very heavy. Although it is probable that this attitude of the public does not affect the work of the expert in the country once he has arrived, it is nevertheless a factor which affects the policy of receiving and of giving governments in their programs of technical co-operation. There is no doubt but that one of the central ethical issues involved in the total enterprise centers around the clarification of motive—freeing the whole program, so far as possible, from political involvements.

Another issue concerning motive arises from the fact that a giving country may act from one combina-

tion of motives and the receiving country from another. Countries of the West may well be interested in the development of an Asian country so as to provide a prosperous bulwark against the growth of communism. The Asian country may have no such objective primarily in mind, but may in the first instance be interested in its own development for its own sake.

The feeling will be widely found in Asia that political and cultural freedom, in the Western sense of the concept, is a luxury to great masses of people who are pinched from hunger and living on a subhuman standard. The motivation for development arises powerfully out of the misery of people who are deprived of much of their humanity. A government of these people will seek and accept foreign assistance for its own motives, and these may or may not have much in common with the motives of the giving country or countries.

This divergence of motive is clearly recognized by many of those responsible for the administration of the technical aid programs. It is furthermore recognized that national self-interest on both the giving and the receiving end is legitimate and must be followed. The problem therefore becomes one of securing a coincidence of the self-interest of the governments concerned. The crucial point is that there must be no deception on either side. A realistic honesty about the interests of both parties becomes not only a strategic but a moral requirement, since it is this honesty that more than anything else dispels the feeling that one side is being used by the other. The understanding of motive must be so thorough as to give a sure footing for both the administration and the public relations of the particular program.

Impersonal relationships which affect the foreign aid and technical assistance programs arise, secondly, out of the particular historical situation of many Asian countries today. The point is that these recent years which have seen the development of the foreign aid programs are also the years in which many Asian countries have achieved their freedom. These are the years in which the Western ruler has been driven out. In order to maintain and develop that freedom, however, Asian nations have had to turn to the West. Technology is needed, and desperately needed, in the economies and societies of these countries, and technology is on the whole a thing of the West. The "foreign expert" is by and large a Western white man who is in the Asian country to teach.

It is probable that this need to turn freedom and in the interests of to the West at the very moment of freedom produces psychological factors of the greatest importance. It heightens political and racial sensitivities, resentment, and inferiority-superiority feelings (all frequently hidden), and sensitivity to Western motives. A psychological framework is created to which the whole enterprise must be very responsive.

This is a problem which of course must be settled in Asia and in Asian terms. One suspects that it will be settled less along lines of self-justification (Asia has contributed

much to the West, and now the West contributes to Asia, the one balancing out the other) than it will be in terms of a frank facing of the basic challenge that confronts so many Asian countries. The challenge may be put in many ways, but three parts of it may be recognized almost at first glance: the challenge of poverty and underdevelopment, the challenge of the existence of technology in whatever locale, and the challenge of maintaining a real integrity as the two are put together. When this triple challenge is fully worked out, the psychological problem that arises out of the historical situation of Asian countries will be well on the way to solution.

Relations between large blocs of people are involved, finally, in the way in which the foreign aid and technical assistance programs are organized. It is difficult to see that any particular form of organization is so valuable that it should displace the other. The United Nations and its specialized agencies are multilateral in their organization; the United States carries on a large program organized bilaterally with various individual governments; the Colombo Plan provides a framework of conferences involving many nations within which individual nations conclude their own separate agreements. Private foundations may work through receiving governments or may work independently of them. Values accrue to each form of organization to such a degree that it is not possible to say that one is preferred above the other.

It would seem that there is a moral value in the present pluralism of the situation. The multiplicity of the organizations now in the field prevents an excessive concentration of power in any one. And the fact that there are different sources of aid gives a receiving nation a certain freedom of choice as to where it will get its aid. What may look like an extraordinary administrative complexity in the whole field has its own value.

II. PERSONAL RELATIONS: THE PROBLEM OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PERSONNEL

Technical assistance personnel is virtually all-important for the whole enterprise.

There are the giving and receiving agencies, whether government or private, and the basic agreement which sets a program in motion. There is the specific contract by which work is agreed to. There are the people, administrative, technical expert, and national counterpart, who carry it all out and make it live. One can describe the whole process of technical assistance as a large-scale effort at leadership training. In field after field of particular endeavor, from health to agriculture to industrial relationships, the objective is to train indigenous leaders.

All these people must work within the factors which we have suggested are created by the impersonal relationships among large blocs of people. Within this broad limitation, however, there is a great freedom, a freedom which means that the success or failure of the given project is likely to depend upon the individual

person at work in the village or factory or training center. Technical assistance, when it reaches the crucial point of the work of the expert, does not by the very nature of the case provide an institutional framework which can greatly support the weaknesses of the expert. He is a pioneer at a pioneer's outpost.

In this situation, it has become clear that the moral and spiritual qualities of the expert are of primary importance. Many administrators will say that these qualities are more important than the technical, in the sense that an expert of high technical qualifications may be an utter failure if he does not have the right spiritual ones. Obviously no responsible administrator will take a technically second-rate person. Increasingly, however, the demand is for high spiritual qualities as a prerequisite for the effective exercise of technical capabilities.

What sort of persons are required and why? We shall list four fundamental requirements, but it is important to note that the reason for each of these four qualifications is substantially the same. The expert must deal with people who have a totally different background than he has, if as is true in the majority of the cases the expert is from the West. His job is to teach, to share a body of knowledge and experience. His job is to make that body of knowledge and experience meaningful and acceptable in terms that the national with whom he is dealing can understand and appropriate for his own use. His job is to do this under technical and cultural conditions which are frequently far different from those he is used to at home.

These things are true, in reverse, for the national counterpart assigned to work with the foreign expert. He is dealing with a man out of a different culture. He is working with a man who thinks in technical terms which are not familiar. He also is a pioneer on a pioneer's outpost. The national counterpart and the foreign expert must alike have at least the following qualifications, although the way in which these qualifications will apply to the national counterpart and to the foreign expert is somewhat different in each case.

1. **Willingness to learn.** This qualification, essentially a result of a certain spiritual attitude of humility, must be taken in a very broad sense. It must involve an absolute freedom from condescension, whether condescension regarding the other's technical knowledge, the nation from which he comes, the race he represents, or his personal ability. This means one must have an ability growing from real conviction that the person he is dealing with is capable of teaching him something also and in this sense is an equal partner in a common task.

2. **Adaptability.** Adaptability is required in both the technical and the cultural spheres of the work done by technical assistance personnel. Frequently a technical situation, as for instance whether a certain agricultural implement of Western design will work in the Asian country and locale, will arise and demand a technical adaptability and inventiveness of a very high order. Or, on the other hand, certain cultural presuppositions, for instance concerning

livestock or food or medicine or work habits, will inject themselves into the technical work, creating a situation that will need to be handled in some new way. In both cases, extreme flexibility is required.

Again, adaptability is needed in personal relationships. One Western expert is known not to be able to make friends among his national associates because he feels he cannot trust them. He is without doubt not typical, but the point illustrates the kind of adaptability in personal relationships that is required.

Another point involves the living arrangements of the foreign expert. The problem of a Westerner living in an Asian country is a difficult problem if he intends to live on the standard of his Asian colleagues. Few, however, expect that of the foreign expert, and there is much generous understanding of his need to have a different and always higher standard of living than most of his Asian counterparts. There is, however, a strong feeling that in many cases the foreign experts live too much a life apart, that (especially the Americans) they tend to create too much a situation of a "little America" for themselves to live in, and thus accentuate their "foreignness." This affects the atmosphere in which their work is done, as well as relationships among peoples and even nations. Adaptability here is of great importance.

Perhaps the most penetrating statement of the matter was put by one who said that the whole process of technical assistance depends upon an ability to distinguish the essential from the nonessential, that is, to be able to hold to what is essential in technique and in the cultural presuppositions needed to make the technique work, and to be sufficiently flexible to discern the nonessential and let it go. Clearly such adaptability is needed by both expert and national counterpart.

3. **Patience.** Patience is required of those who sponsor the various projects, but it is demanded in acute measure of all personnel on the job. It is the patience required by people who live in two totally different worlds and who desire to communicate deeply with each other. It is the patience of the man who is willing to experiment in various technical matters until the right method is found which suits the local situation fully, and to experiment in ways of approach to people until in fact an enduring process of communication has been created.

It is not infrequent that the time factor under which most technical assistance personnel work presents a serious obstacle to the exercise of this needed patience. Appointments for the foreign expert are usually short-term—two or three years and sometimes only a few months. He is under pressure, naturally, to produce in that time. The pressure of human need, the basic reason for his being there, adds urgency to his day's work. Yet it is essential, for the kinds of modifications that are being produced in the minds and spirits and habits of men by virtue of technical assistance cannot be hurried. The price of undue hurry and impatience is waste and frustration in regard to the specific job and deep damage to the human spirit as well.

4. **The "missionary spirit."** This phrase is one that is on the lips of governmental official, private agency officer, Christian and non-Christian alike. There is general agreement that the "missionary spirit" is an important and needed qualification for technical assistance personnel. The term really means a spirit of service without regard for personal gain. It is not the case that the foreign expert or counterpart is expected or asked to serve for a pittance of salary, but it is required that he not serve primarily for personal gain. Devotion to people and to the work of development is the prime requirement. Too frequently national personnel in the work of development are in it for the security a government job offers and for the status it affords. Too frequently also the foreign expert is anxious to get home. A sense of dedication to the job is needed to transcend all these natural desires and to set the work of technical assistance on its proper footing.

It is not our purpose to pass judgment upon the work of technical assistance or upon those involved in it. It must not be thought that the listing of these qualifications implies that the present personnel involved in the various programs are seriously lacking. Many of them are outstanding examples of people who possess just the sort of spiritual qualifications we have been describing. Repeated and sound emphasis, however, in the recruiting, selection, training, and supervision of personnel upon these qualifications will do much to help the work of foreign aid and technical assistance in meeting the ethical and cultural problems with which it is now confronted.

III. THE RELATIONSHIPS OF CULTURES

Foreign aid and technical assistance throw into bold relief certain ethical problems involving the relationship between cultures. From one viewpoint, foreign assistance is a great program of leadership training. But it is leadership training in the ways and devices of modern technology. Thus the programs of foreign assistance are a planned, concentrated, and comparatively rapid injection of many different forms of technology into predominantly nontechnical cultures.

This involves the transformation of the cultures into which technology is being introduced. We do not witness a process of merely tidying up a scene, of improving a situation which remains basically the same after the process as it was before. A great cultural change is in process for which foreign assistance is not, indeed, wholly responsible, but of which it is certainly an important vehicle. Two factors may be described which are at the same time reasons why there is a cultural transformation taking place and evidence of the type of change that is transpiring.

First, technology is pervasive. If one seizes upon an element of technological improvement, one is at once involved in a chain of other technological necessities which are needed if the first is to succeed. One

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What Are the Churches' Concerns in Foreign Aid?

The following statement is essentially the testimony as it was presented by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake in behalf of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. before the Senate Special Committee on Foreign Aid, Washington, D. C., April 12, 1957.

THE National Council of Churches, on the basis of Christian concern, and in keeping with actions of many of its constituent bodies, holds that the United States should continue to develop, improve, and expand programs of technical assistance, economic aid, and international trade such as will make for stability, justice, freedom, and peace for the peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the world and for all nations including our own.

Why are the churches concerned about foreign aid, and what competence do they have to speak in this field?

The churches have both practical and moral concerns, and both practical and moral competence to speak and to take appropriate actions for constructive foreign aid.

The Churches' Experience

Our churches have had a deep and increasing interest in programs of overseas aid for more than a hundred years, with practical concerns and competence developed through work around the world. In mission work, they pioneered in technical assistance and economic aid in programs of education, literacy, literature, medicine and public health, agriculture, industry, mass communications, and training of leadership in many fields. Our Division of Foreign Missions is made up of 70 boards and agencies, which maintain a missionary force of over 10,000 workers in over 50 countries, co-operating with tens of thousands of trained nationals. Voluntary contributions of approximately $44,000,000 annually by people of our churches support overseas programs including schools, colleges, universities, training centers, agricultural stations, farms, shops, and hospitals.

Further, through our Department of Church World Service our churches carry programs of aid to people in need around the world. In 1956 they expended $11,000,000 and shipped 192 million pounds of materials overseas to situations of need such as Hungary, the Middle East, and numerous other regions. This year, material aid will increase to more than 300 million pounds of food, clothing, medicine, and other necessities. Through Church World Service we help to distribute United States Government surplus foods, give many kinds of relief in disasters, and we have pioneered in village and community projects. We always work in close co-operation with in-

digenous agencies, with the idea of helping people to help themselves.

Also, related to the National Council of Churches, the United Christian Youth Movement, the United Student Christian Council, and United Church Women carry on projects and aid around the world. Through these and other units working in international programs, we furnish considerable money and send persons into overseas programs who have a deep sense of concern for the emerging peoples of the world.

Out of such long, fruitful, widespread experience, the churches have reached the conclusion that there is an urgent, continuing need for voluntary and private programs, and the churches are, in fact, redoubling their efforts in this field. We are convinced, also, that there is urgent need at this time for our nation to develop public programs of mutual aid of greater scope and magnitude, expanded to the extent of our national capabilities and the absorptive capacities of the underdeveloped areas. . . .

Some Guiding Principles

On the basis of our experience in overseas work and our moral concerns in international affairs, we have evolved over a period of time several principles which we believe essential for making our nation's foreign aid programs as effective as possible in helping to develop the conditions of peace, justice, and freedom:

1. Our nation should assist our fellow men in underdeveloped areas to the full extent of our capabilities and their absorptive capacities.

2. The programs should be seen in terms of mutual aid.

3. The programs should help people to help themselves in lifting their levels of living.

4. Both public and private programs need to be strengthened and expanded.

5. Programs of technical cooperation should be increased.

6. Larger sums of capital should be made available for economic development.

7. Trade should be facilitated so goods may be bought and sold more readily.

8. Programs should be based on an understanding of the problems of other peoples, and a continuing concern for their economic development.

9. A long-term basis is needed in financing, programing, and administering aid programs.

10. Greater emphasis should be placed on the use of international agencies, such as regional organizations and the United Nations.

11. Although all parts of our foreign policy are interrelated, programs of technical and economic aid should be planned and administered in relation primarily not to political and military considerations, but to economic and social needs and opportunities.

Moral Considerations

Now I would turn to the religious and moral foundations on which we base our support for constructive foreign aid. Here we are dealing ultimately with questions of life and death, of the nature of man and his destiny, and these are moral questions which rest on theology and religious faith.

I am here not as a political expert, but as a representative of Christian faith. In this period, politicians are increasingly referring to religion as a sanction for their policies and those of our nation. We rejoice in all sincere recognition of the sovereignty of God, because this has been at the heart of the development of our nation. It seems to me that those of us who by training, experience, thought, and profession are presumed to have a particular competence in matters of religious faith and morality may well point out the moral nature and meaning of our domestic and foreign policies, as, for example, in foreign aid. Let us therefore look at some of the questions on foreign aid in the light of religion and morality.

Practical Reasons

One argument for foreign aid is that it is essential in the struggle between communist tyranny and freedom. We believe that morality is involved in this struggle and that our foreign policy and aid programs must take adequate account of it so that we continue to make every effort to develop freedom in the world. It is my conviction that we must be willing to make sacrifices and revise our policies toward the rest of the world to bring them into line with Christian values. Otherwise the so-called uncommitted areas, great in population, size, and importance, will be drawn into the communist orbit by China and other communist powers. We must do all we can to prevent such a tragedy. However, we hold that this is not the only or the ultimate motivation of our foreign policy or for foreign aid programs.

A second argument for foreign aid is the military one. We recognize the role of military security in such a world as ours, and the majority of our church people support programs for collective security. However, we hold that military programs alone cannot develop peace, and that an overemphasis on them can endanger peace when military might is exalted at the expense of constructive, curative, creative programs in economic, political, psychological, and moral terms.

Another argument for constructive foreign aid is that it is good business. It can really be looked upon as an investment both in the present and the future for the economic well-being of ourselves as well as others. Our country trades primarily not with the underdeveloped areas, except in raw materials, but with more highly developed areas. Therefore, if we wish to increase the level of trade, commerce, and industry of our own country, we must make substantial investments of public and private money to develop the underdeveloped areas. I see positive moral values in the development of the economic life of peoples. However, this, also, is not one of the ultimate moral sanctions for foreign aid.

Religious Foundations

Let us now turn to the basic religious and moral foundations which compel us as a nation to greater responsibility in constructive foreign aid programs.

1. *One of these is the indivisibility, the interdependence, of humanity under God our Creator.* No man is an island, entire of himself, but

each is involved in all life. President Eisenhower cogently stated this truth in his Second Inaugural Address; speaking of our nation in relation to the rest of the world he said, ". . . We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere."

2. *A second basic moral principle in foreign aid is our stewardship as a wealthy nation in a world of poverty.* Jesus declared, "Every one to whom much is given, of him will much be required." Christian duty compels us to help other nations financially and technically. We should do this without expecting them to become our satellites or to love us for it. Money may help to buy us a measure of security, but it cannot compel loyalty nor buy friends. I am not arguing in this against using our political and economic strength for all it is worth to build up the bastions of the free world against communism. This we must do so long as it remains committed to violent world-wide revolution. But let us keep clear the distinction between what we are doing for survival of ourselves and others, and what we are doing as acts of friendship and of unselfish morality. Above and beyond security considerations, it is our Christian responsibility to share our wealth and techniques with other people just because we are strong and they are weak—without primary regard to political consequences.

3. *Another principle of moral and spiritual truth in foreign aid is what happens to men and nations as they do or do not have a real concern for the lives of others who are in need.* . . On religious and moral grounds, we can see in our unprecedented abundance a potential blessing or curse for us as people and as a nation, depending on our response to those in need. Few dare to challenge in the name of Christ those who criticize what they call "giveaway programs." Yet Christ tells us that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." Our personal and national destiny depend in no small measure on our realizing this moral truth and acting upon it in the most effective and substantial programs of constructive foreign aid our generosity and know-how can fashion.

4. *Another basic religious and moral principle in foreign aid is in what it does in sustaining life, for we believe human life is sacred, being of primary value.* In the Judaeo-Christian tradition life is a gift from God; God created man in his own image and made him to be immortal. Jesus said he came that men might "have life, and . . . have it more abundantly." In our religious traditions, human life is seen as coming from God, sustained by him, and cherished by him in time and eternity. If we take such religion seriously, we are impelled to strong support of technical and economic co-operation which will help in "death control," and in bringing life and life more abundant. Foreign aid is ultimately a matter of life and death for millions who do or do not receive it. By the grace of God, through such programs we can help to save tens of thousands of women in childbirth, to preserve hundreds of thousands of children who would otherwise not live out the first year of life, to increase life expectancy by

many years, and to add strength as well as length to life.

5. *Another basic religious and moral consideration is that in foreign aid we actually go beyond material realities.* Accepting the fact that man cannot live without bread, and supporting technical and economic programs to that end, we also realize that "man does not live by bread alone," that he also has moral, spiritual, mental, and social hungers. More adequate programs of economic and technical co-operation can mean much for these other basic needs. As our nation and others that are more privileged share our technology, economic abundance, and life itself with peoples of the less developed areas, this enriches their intellectual, spiritual, and social life. While we do not impose our systems upon them, our actions will demonstrate the values that make us concerned for the welfare of other human beings. Thus can come new relationships and dimensions of meaning to life itself. We all realize increasingly that this is a world of dynamic change, of revolution, including economic, political, psychological, and moral factors. In this revolutionary world, we believe that our nation with our revolutionary heritage for freedom and human welfare rooted so deeply in the Christian faith should act in more effective and extensive programs of constructive foreign aid which will give both help and hope to vast multitudes of people in the underdeveloped areas.

In constructive foreign aid, the practical and the moral elements are not in conflict but in agreement; realism and Christian idealism meet in accord; self-interest and altruism are joined.

To give guidance for consideration by the Senate of foreign aid policies for the future, your committee is studying "the extent to which foreign assistance by the United States Government serves, can be made to serve, or does not serve, the national interest." From the viewpoint of religion and morality, as developed above, we believe that our national self-interest at this moment of history is best fulfilled in recognizing that our destiny is inescapably bound with the destiny of the world.

Here then is part of the meaning of the great commandment: "Thou shalt love God and thy neighbor as thyself." Self, neighbor, and God are bound together in the bundle of life. We can make our love to God and neighbor real, in part, as citizens seeking to have our nation develop improved and expanded constructive foreign aid programs.

Church people across our land are arising in support of a more dynamic program of technical co-operation and economic aid, and I assure you that theirs will be an increasingly mighty voice in the land on this issue during the days immediately ahead. The fact is that the American people as a whole will respond to moral and spiritual leadership for these programs. They will accept necessary taxes to help others if they understand what is at stake and if intelligence and generosity go hand in hand in our programs. They will support constructive foreign policies which take new and dynamic initiative toward peace with justice and freedom.

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bilateral schemes. But in regard to financial assistance, particularly grants to help build the essential infrastructure of economic development (roads, schools, harbors, and the like), nothing has been done commensurate either with the needs of the less developed countries or with the available resources of those more developed.

In this situation, what are the responsibilities of Christians in the West to develop a public conscience on more adequate assistance, as a matter of social justice, of humanitarian concern, and of national self-interest? What are the responsibilities of Christian institutions in underdeveloped countries to maximize the effect of technical and other assistance rendered by international agencies?

Development Within a Responsible Social Framework

One of the more promising contributions of the West to the lands of rapid social change is the conception of a democratic or free society as a social and political goal. It is important that this goal is proclaimed, even though these lands may lack experience in modern democracy and to a large extent the religious and cultural ethos which undergirds it in the West.

The hopeful beginnings toward a free and responsible society are jeopardized particularly in the most critically situated countries by the stark alternatives presently posed by the challenge of economic and social development. The demand for quick improvements in standards of living confronts the need for a severe belt-tightening to produce capital for development. The question is whether (short of very substantial assistance from the West) the additional hardships required for economic development can be imposed by a free society. This question poses quite different issues for Christians in the lands of rapid social change and those in the West.

One of the important results of the impact of the West is to introduce a new understanding of the meaning of co-operation of men and women and their respective status in social and political life. This Western pattern often conflicts with the mores of these countries. One of the significant contributions Christians can make in this situation is to develop a clear and positive witness regarding such matters as the participation of women in political life.

The Christian Gospel and Christian Institutions

The Christian mission has been and remains an important element in the impact of the West on the three continents. The spread of the gospel and establishment of the church in all countries has important social and cultural, as well as religious, significance. The extension of technical and social services, particularly through mission schools and hospitals, should also be mentioned. In its impact on indigenous cultures, the Christian mission has had a lib-

erating, as well as disintegrating, effect. The missionary movement has been the carrier of both the Christian heritage and Western concepts partly rooted in it.

But it is the gospel that is everywhere a liberating force. Church patterns and practices have been variously an aid and an obstacle to the release of its influence. Too often they have inadvertently entangled the good news in peculiarly Western forms which have stood in the way of recognition of its universal character, and of the development of indigenous forms which would help to communicate it. The training of indigenous leaders and the development of self-support have been much too slow. Too little has been done to explore and discover new avenues of Christian service. The issue is how quickly the essentials of the Christian faith and witness can be disentangled from some of their Western garments and clothed in their appropriate native garb.

In this respect Christians both in the West and in the areas of rapid social change are called upon to reevaluate the effect of missions over the years upon the life of the peoples in those areas. One of our particular problems is how to make non-Christians realize that Christian missions are not an imposition from outside but a practical manifestation of international good will and sharing with others of the light and life which we have come to find in Jesus Christ. These problems compel the Christians in the West to take more seriously the opportunity which the missionary movement still offers to contribute toward the solution of many problems facing people in areas undergoing rapid social change.

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is soon confronted with such a comprehensive range of technological measures that virtually the whole of a culture is affected. It must be quickly pointed out that this has not yet in fact happened in nontechnological cultures, but rather that it is happening with different rates of speed at different cultural levels. Actually, one sees the pervasive character of technology the more vividly because the process is at present only partly accomplished.

Take, for instance, the science of animal husbandry on which, in some countries, a fair amount is being spent and expert advice is sought. The improvement of livestock requires better feed, and this means research into agricultural methods and perhaps the introduction of new types of feed. This also means initiating a process of storing, which requires for the storage bins construction of a type suited to locale and pocketbook. In some countries, the improvement of livestock necessitates a radical change of outlook, involving religious convictions and the general attitude toward animals. Also, change in habits concerning the use of animals is needed: if to give milk more adequately cows should not be used to draw heavy loads, farmers will need education on this point and some other means of power will have to be found. From one starting point one is led far afield in order to make the original objective come true.

So also with other areas of development. In the realm of health and medicine, it is commonly agreed that a major, if not basic, problem is that of environmental sanitation. As public health is improved—especially when the efforts of the doctors and the experts in preventive medicine also take hold—longevity is increased and the population is increased, frequently at a high rate. This requires drastic measures of industrialization and of intensified agriculture if the standard of living is to keep pace with the increase.

The same sort of interconnected needs are involved in the immense programs of village and community development on which large sums of foreign assistance are spent. If the expert is in the field of health, he will need to create a willingness among the villagers to receive preventive treatment, to work at the problems of sanitation, to develop smokeless stoves to replace the smoky ones of time-honored custom, to change dietary habits. If he is interested in agriculture, he will be led into the property system, into technical work concerning agricultural implements, into roads for transport. The answer to all this so far has been the development of the multipurpose worker, who has a bit of training in many fields because one field so involves the other that he must be a Jack-of-all-trades. Technology is pervasive: it leads from one place on and on until a whole society is involved.

At root, this means that a very radical change is taking place. It is a change that will involve the whole man and the whole society. This, so

far as most Asian countries are concerned, is something in the far-distant future. The transformation of culture which is taking place does not mean that the end result will be the duplication in Asia of Western technological culture. There will doubtless emerge an Asian, or series of Asian, technological cultures, which, however, will be far different from the present Asian cultures. During the present transitional period, both the individual and the society must live in two worlds: the old, which proceeds without technology and on the basis of presuppositions, habits, and customs that have little to do with technical society; and the new, which is technical in its character. These worlds exist nearly everywhere in Asia side by side, and frequently they exist within the individual person side by side.

The first problem this basic situation raises for the work of foreign assistance concerns pace and speed. How much of such radical change can the spirit of man take and in what period of time? This is really the problem of a true indigenization of technology versus a mere copying of it without assimilation. In receiving and giving governments, in the planning of work schedules for the experts, is enough attention given to this basic issue? The answer to this problem must be given by those involved in the work itself; suffice it to say here that it is a deep issue of ethical and human importance upon which the healthy effectiveness of foreign assistance may well depend.

Another facet of the problem may be seen in the question as to whether the present tendency of the technically trained national to become divorced from the masses of the people is permanent, or whether there is also being developed the mediating middle class out of which increasing numbers of well-trained people will come and through which their advanced training will be transmitted to the general population. Frequently one hears the complaint that the benefits of foreign assistance do not reach the people in general but only the few. Is this due to a normal time lag, or is it due to an unwise response to the heavy pressure for quick development, whereby reliance is put upon a relatively few highly trained people? If it is the latter, more attention may need to be given to the development of a large middle group.

A second implication of the fundamental pervasive character of technology is that a more comprehensive approach may be needed to development problems. Many of the governmental plans recognize this and provide an unusual degree of comprehensiveness in their aims. Many agencies involved in technical assistance are at work on a particular aspect of the problem: health, agriculture, co-operatives, labor relations, child and mother care, and so on. Some major government plans are geared almost exclusively to the increase of production without much attention being paid to the sociological and ethical factors involved in the mass increase of production.

One wonders whether this specialized approach, by itself, will meet the basic social problem involved. Administrative co-ordination among these efforts may not be enough, even

hough in many areas it is commendably carried out. Is there not room for pioneering thought and action for the total development of an area large enough to be significant in the development of the country?

Secondly, technology involves a transformation of the nontechnical society because technology carries with it cultural presuppositions of its own which may be very different from those of the nontechnical society. It is important to emphasize that these cultural presuppositions are required by technology, not merely by Western technical experts. They are thus not dependent upon a human factor, but are demanded by the very nature of technical processes themselves. At least three fundamental cultural presuppositions of technology may be indicated.

1. **Technology requires a certain individualism in the sense of initiative, inventiveness, and curiosity.** There is a general recognition in all phases of technical assistance and foreign aid that the whole enterprise depends for its success on helping people to help themselves. Great credit is due to those in the technical assistance programs for seeing and grasping this point so clearly. But it is clear that this self-help, and training in self-help, presupposes a certain individualism. Many is the expert who has found that he has had somehow to awaken a sense of initiative and inventiveness and curiosity before he could get on with the job.

There is a sense in which the very existence of the wide-ranging program of technical assistance tends to work against the development of this individualism. There cannot help but be an attitude of dependence created on the part of the recipients. Money, men, and machines are in evidence, sometimes abundantly, and this all provides its temptations to let the foreigners do it. Technical complexity—the pervasiveness of technique which we have mentioned—tends to swamp the imagination of people and to stifle initiative. And there are occasions in which the technical assistance program may hang on too long, and thus create dependency and not initiative.

There is thus a double problem involved. The first is that all the processes of technique require individualism in this sense, and that, this being absent, it must frequently be consciously instilled, with resultant change in outlook and culture. The second is that the very operation of the technical assistance programs tends to militate against the quality that is essential for the success of the program.

2. **Technology involves a certain form of community.** In many Asian countries there are communities of a very deep kind—family, caste, religious, ethnic, language, and so on. But the conception of community that is required by technology is different in many respects from these. It is based upon an enlightened self-interest which understands that teamwork, sharing, and a certain submergence of the individual and the particular group to the general community are all essential. A factory, for instance, simply will not work without this teamwork, un-

less it is driven by slave labor, and the teamwork in the factory must be extended to the wide range of industrial processes with which that factory is connected and upon which it depends for its own production.

Village and community development based on technological improvements requires teamwork and community interest on the part of the villager. A flannelgraph in a large training center in India for village development workers was designed to get the following concepts across: leadership, faith, co-operation, village interest, initiative, enthusiasm. These are all values or qualities that exist in the village as it now is, but in the context of village development they indicate the ingredients that are required for the new concept of community.

It is not only in the village that the need for this sense of community is seen. The problem appears in perhaps its largest proportions when one considers that government in many Asian countries is in itself in a state of evolution, from government designed to keep law and order to government designed to promote the general welfare as well. The whole thrust of the desire for raising standards in the underdeveloped countries through technology is one that in itself requires a new sense of community. Trust in one's fellow men, a willingness to work, to share, and to some extent to sacrifice for the community across the lines of traditional loyalty, across the lines of family, caste, language, and ethnic group, are necessary to the whole process. The demands of technology are here forcing deep cultural changes.

3. **Technology involves a certain concept of work.** It demands steadiness and persistence on the job lest one part of the technical process break down and with it the whole. It requires a certain pride in the job, lest one part of the total be poorly done and the whole thus at fault. It demands a willingness not only to learn the theory, but to engage in the practice of it as well.

This last is perhaps one of the most troublesome problems of all, for the tradition in many places is that actually to do the job, as distinguished from knowing the theory of it, is degrading or distasteful. There is great hesitancy in rolling up the sleeves and getting the hands dirty. But there is scarcely a job in the whole range of technological development that does not require this of even its most highly trained experts. To what extent these ideas about work exist in Asian countries is not clear. There is much evidence of pride in work on the part of farmers, and of a real love of it. But perhaps one of the most needful areas of research in connection with technical assistance lies in this area of the concepts of work that exist in the countries of Asia and their relation to the requirements of technology.

Other observers, more experienced and expert, will doubtless discern other cultural presuppositions which are required by the technological process. These however are sufficient to illustrate the general point, that technology does not exist in a cold way by itself, but that it reaches down into cultural patterns and ultimately into spiritual attitudes.

No one can fail to be caught by the excitement of the programs of development in the underdeveloped countries. Here are peoples and governments in motion. Here is an immense release of human energy, manifested in prodigious efforts to establish justice and to realize high aspirations. An awakening, beginning with political matters and extending to food and housing and health and production and concerns of the spirit, is in full swing. New things are being raised up out of old scenes and customs. The pace differs in the different countries of Asia, and the problems have various accents. But throughout there is the great excitement of hope and achievement in a struggle for life and for justice.

Within the excitement there is a double strain of tragedy and of victory. The element of tragedy appears in the grand and classical sense, tragedy brought about by a good thing that contains the seed both of its own destructiveness and of the doom of much with which it is associated. The achievement and the promise of victory appear also in the profound sense of a triumph which comes out of having faced and gone through the tragedy and of having transcended it.

This double strain of tragedy and victory may be put in the form of the following dilemmas.

First, there is the dilemma of motive. There is clear and undoubted humanitarianism involved in the work of development. This is evident on both the giving and receiving ends. But there is also the motive of severe national interest. Governments neither give nor receive altruistically; they do so to suit their own policies. The tragedy involved is that the motive of national interest is in constant danger of obliterating the motive of humanitarianism, with the result that what may start from a desire to improve the lot of men may degenerate into a mere power struggle.

There is no easy answer to this dilemma: exhortations to governments to cease their nasty business and become humanitarian will not meet the point nor help the governments. But a note of warning may be relevant.

(*a*) In the work of foreign assistance, national self-interest must be seen and assessed in the light of the fundamental aim of development. The basic issue, for instance, for a giving nation should always be: Does our national self-interest see the development of the country as such to be a good thing?

(*b*) National self-interest in the work of foreign assistance must be divorced from the interests of the international power struggle. There is every indication that foreign assistance (for the purposes of development) that is the tool of the political and military interests of a nation or a bloc of nations will not work and will do harm.

(*c*) Recognizing that national self-interest will play a basic role in the policies that determine foreign assistance programs, there must be a scrupulous honesty in public relations about the form of that national

self-interest. People have their suspicions about the motives behind foreign assistance programs. The air will be cleared not so much by disavowing what people suspect, nor by highly moralistic propaganda about foreign assistance, but rather by statements that are realistic and honest concerning the motives of giving and receiving countries.

Second, there is the dilemma of persons. This consists in the fact that a technical job requires spiritual qualities of a high order. The tragedy that runs throughout—one can see it in the faces of some who are at work in the field—is that technical assistance work becomes frustrated for want of the right spiritual qualities in its personnel. But how can a governmental agency appeal for people with the proper spiritual qualities: with the missionary spirit, with humility, and the like? Are these qualities that can be assessed, recruited, and appealed for by governmental agencies, or must they not seek help from private agencies which by their nature are in a better position to make such appeals?

Third, there is the dilemma of the spirit and of values. Here is the most intractable problem of all. At this point the deepest tragedy already appears. Therefore it is here that the possibility of the greatest victory is also evident. This is a dilemma which itself has different aspects.

The first is caused by the fact that technology requires certain spiritual values. These, as we have seen, are values of individualism, of community, and of a concept of work—among possible others. The essential point resides in the fact that a non-spiritual, technical process requires a spiritual support in order that the technical may work.

The second is the dilemma caused by the fact that technology *fosters* certain spiritual attitudes. Materialism is the important factor here. The governments and peoples in Asia are single-mindedly bent on production. Continuing neglect of sociological and cultural factors will lead to ultimate tragedy. The demand for production means automatically a demand for technology, and with it that preoccupation with material things which is the curse of the West. What begins with a good thing ends up—or can end up—with a bad thing inherent in the good. A realistic triumph over this impending tragedy would be one of the greatest contributions which Asian countries could make to world civilization.

The third aspect of the whole is the dilemma created by the need to control technological development on the one hand, and on the other the inherent uncontrollability of technology. It is not probable that any aspect of society can escape the impact of technology. Moreover, science and technology are irreversible. They contain their own logic and dynamic which cannot be turned back. Technology opens a Pandora's box of spiritual problems, as Western experience clearly shows.

Here the world character of the problem is most clearly apparent. We are not getting and receiving. We are all learning. The mind and spirit of man cannot profitably stand to-

rapid a revolution. People cannot ive in a society too sharply and too rapidly divided into the technologi-al and the nontechnological, the new nd the old. It would be tragic indeed f, in the interests of the development of a people, the technology employed were either to destroy the spirit of the people, or to make over the culture of hat people into its own mechanized mage.

All of this points to what after all s the central question. What of the spiritual basis for the technological evolution that is taking place in Asia? What of the profound sources of social values? So far as the situ-ation in Asian countries goes, as il-ustrated forcibly and significantly by the work of technical assistance, he progression is something like his: underdevelopment demands de-velopment, which in turn requires echnological processes, which in heir turn necessitate certain atti-udes of mind and spirit on a suffi-iently widespread basis to uphold he complex pattern of technical so-iety.

This is both chronologically and ogically the reverse of the way in which the process has taken place in he technically highly developed ountries. In those countries, tech-ology and cultural outlook with heir spiritual presuppositions grew ogether, and in some measure sci-nce and technology grew out of nderlying cultural and spiritual ssumptions.

The question is therefore sharply raised as to how the present process can be continued in Asia, that is, how the spiritual and cultural presuppositions which are required to make technology work can be developed in terms that are truly indigenous to Asia. The impending tragedy, already discernible, is that in the interests of human justice a technological means is employed which founders for want of a spiritual power and value. The shape of the ultimate victory is also apparent: the triumph which consists in the possibility that the spirit of man in Asia, having faced the temptations of the technological age, can control and use it on its own terms for the true well-being of humanity.

Foreign aid and technical assistance will not be of profound and lasting benefit unless conscious effort is made to deal with the ethical and cultural problems indicated here. Asian governments and peoples have already chosen between technology and no technology. Having, as it were, put the hand to the plow, it is of very great importance that all who are involved in the process deal with the deep problems of human conduct and attitude. In this way, the dangerous temptations of technology may be escaped, and societies may be built that overcome the dangers of the machine age and that truly use science for the enrichment of mankind.

General Assembly Pronouncements

—Economic Aid and Technical Assistance

THE Point Four program—a program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas. Our aim should be to help the free people of the world, through their own efforts, to produce more food, more clothing, more materials for housing, and more mechanical power to lighten their burdens. This program, properly divorced from partisan politics, holds the promise of enormous benefits for the backward peoples of the world. However, if this program is to fulfill its promise, it must be surrounded by sufficient safeguards lest it become, or appear to become, the scheme of imperialism and exploitation.

—1949

THE technical assistance program of the UN and the Point Four program of our Government should be strengthened and expanded now, so that economic and social justice within and between nations may become a reality.

With two thirds of our fellow men living in underdeveloped regions of the world, such programs are of greater significance to the hope of a free world than the development of military strength.

—1952

WE ENCOURAGE the continuation and extension of the program of technical assistance by our Government to underdeveloped regions. We urge the close co-ordination of this program with similar efforts carried on by the United Nations.

—1953

AS FOR Government programs of foreign aid, we believe that they should not be trimmed down or withdrawn so long as they serve human needs. These programs should be (1) based on actual needs without regard to political pressures or military considerations; (2) developed in such a way as not to disrupt foreign economies; and (3) so administered that the aid serves the purpose for which it is intended.

We call upon our Government to continue its support, without diminution, of international programs designed to minister to human needs and to assist less developed lands—such as the UN International Children's Fund, the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, and relief projects in Korea, the Middle East, and other areas of need.

We reaffirm support of our Government's program of technical assistance and cooperation as being an appropriate and effective means of helping others to help themselves.

—1955

ACKNOWLEDGING that the foreign policy of all nations is developed in terms of their own self-interest, but believing that what ultimately serves the total good best serves the individual state;

Aware of the continuing need to stress economic aid rather than military assistance to underdeveloped areas and conscious of the fact that communist nations are using economic aid as an effective political weapon; . . .

The 168th General Assembly urges our Government (1) to give assurance of appropriation of funds for economic aid on a long-term basis, [and] (2) to review and debate foreign aid proposals without acrimony and partisan maneuvering so that decisions will be made on the basis of human welfare.

—1956

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